

process would more likely lead to sustainable development.

The book is an important set of readings for anyone interested in arctic development. While it does not offer solutions to the problem of sustainable development, it is an interesting survey of crucial problems in the Arctic. What it lacks in integration is made up in the substance contained in the individual chapters.

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**SANATUJUT: PRIDE IN WOMEN'S WORK. COPPER AND CARIBOU INUIT CLOTHING TRADITIONS.** By JUDY HALL, JILL OAKES and SALLY QIMMIU'NAAQ WEBSTER. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994. ISBN 0-660-14027-6. xv + 136 p., 90 b&w and 13 colour photos, 2 maps, 5 line drawings, notes, bib. Softbound. Cdn\$29.95.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization has published texts to enhance its exhibition entitled "Threads of the Land: Clothing Traditions from Three Indigenous Cultures," that runs from February 1995 to September 1997. The three-part exhibition displays the dress and adornment of the Dene: the Northern Athapaskans of the Northwest Territories, the Copper and Caribou Inuit of the Northwest Territories, and the Nlaka'pamux of the British Columbia interior. *Sanatujut* is the title of the Inuit component of the exhibition and of the book under review. The Inuktitut word "sanatujut" is translated by Sadie Hill (p. vii) as "women's pride and skill in making clothing." Sally Kusugak and Sally Qimmiu'naaq Webster add the meaning of "having pride in doing things with your own hands" (p. 123).

Before we look at the content of this work, it is important to go back a few years to understand the full significance of the process used to produce the book and the exhibition. In the late 1980s, the Assembly of First Nations invited the Canadian Museums Association to begin a joint evaluation of museum policies regarding the material and spiritual heritage of Aboriginal peoples. Together, in 1990, they established the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, which brought in its report two years later. The report agreed on guidelines to "develop an ethical framework and strategies by which Aboriginal peoples and cultural institutions can work together to represent Aboriginal history and culture." The document legitimates and expedites practices whereby the display and interpretation of the native heritage become a joint venture between partners.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization procedures honor the vision of the Task Force report. From the outset, the native peoples and their communities were involved with institutions in the planning, design, selection of artifacts, research,

and educational projects in the North and South for the exhibition and texts, and in making additions to the collections. Their voices are heard throughout: in comments as they worked on the preparations, in conversations and consultations, from their videos and their writings.

The book is written by Judy Hall, the curator of the Inuit section of the exhibition, with Chapter Twelve, on contemporary Copper and Caribou Inuit clothing, by Jill Oakes and Sally Qimmiu'naaq Webster. It makes an important contribution to the growing number of studies on Inuit clothing, opening the way to understanding the Inuit cultural legacy as a whole.

The author has conducted a thorough search of the literature: both the classics by Birket-Smith, Boas, Ellis, Hatt, Jenness, McGhee, Rasmussen, and Stefansson, and more recent works including those by Angugatiq, Chaussonnet, Driscoll, Issenman, Rhoda Karetak, Sally Karetak, the Mannings, Winifred Marsh, Oakes, Pharand, Rankin, Riewe, and Stenton. Full references are found in the well-developed bibliography. She draws effectively on the expertise of Inuit seamstresses, the early anthropologists and explorers, the works of Driscoll, Marsh and Oakes, and her own participatory research. The blend of academic references with a lively writing style makes the material most accessible to adult readers.

*Sanatujut* focuses on the dress of two groups: the Caribou Inuit, who live on the west side of Hudson Bay in the southern part of the District of Keewatin; and the Copper Inuit, who inhabit the north-central region of the Canadian mainland in the area of Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf, and Victoria Island, still using Banks Island as hunting grounds. A general description of the Copper and Caribou Inuit lands and environment helps readers visualize the way life was and is carried on. Hall situates the clothing as a vital part of an ancient culture, playing the roles of physical protection, custodian of cultural values, and a link to the animal and spiritual realms.

The book goes on to present some of the prehistoric evidence of skin preparation and sewing, describing the tools and the whole pieces and fragments of skin clothing found at archaeological sites. Along with Inuit oral narratives and the accounts and illustrations of European visitors to the Arctic in the historic era, the reader receives the perceptions of Natives and non-Natives. Chapter Three explores skin preparation and sewing techniques. The chapter on regional styles brings together detailed information that illuminates commonalities and differences in the garments of the many regional groups that make up the two larger communities.

Several chapters describe the attire and its role at crucial times in the lives of the Copper and Caribou Inuit. Birth and childhood, body decoration, personal adornment, spirituality, celebrations and rituals, and death are the topics that inform the reader about the more profound significance of the dress.

Chapter Ten outlines the influences on Caribou Inuit clothing of contact with non-Inuit, starting in the early 1700s with the arrival of European and American explorers and whalers and the Hudson's Bay Company. Trade goods—the most important for seamstresses being beads and fabric—

altered the appearance of skin garments, and added to the kinds of pieces in the clothing repertoire. Chapter Eleven demonstrates the effect of contact between the Copper Inuit and British explorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as contact with traders from Alaska, with the Dene, and with members of the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, which took place from 1913 to 1916. A dramatic change in style occurred in Copper Inuit costumes when the Klengenberg family migrated from Alaska to Coppermine in 1916. The changes are particularly interesting, as both Inuit and non-Inuit had acknowledged that traditional Copper Inuit dress had several drawbacks. The discussion of the new Mother Hubbard style for women and the limited use of beads rounds out our understanding of the changes to the garments after contact.

The last chapter, by Oakes and Webster, brings the reader into the 1990s by centering on contemporary Copper and Caribou Inuit wear. Well-developed is the discussion on the varieties of clothing available—skin, fabric, handmade, store-bought—and the choices made according to role, function, age, traditions, group affiliation, and the desire for attention and decoration. The authors give many examples of the use of technological advances combined with traditional lore. This synergy has resulted in attire that meets the requirements of today's life in the North as well as esthetic tastes, especially of the young, influenced by the South.

A judicious editor's handwork is evident. The book designer has given the reader uncrowded pages, and clear references to images with well-placed captions. The photographs—archival, of museum artifacts, and modern—are outstanding. Dorothy Burnham's pattern illustrations are rendered with clarity and precision, reflecting an understanding of how fur is cut and sewn.

Some minor criticisms: I am troubled by the use, in connection with Inuit fur and skin garments, of the terms 'hem,' 'hemline,' and 'fashions,' that are southern expressions used in the dress industry or in home sewing. The word 'fashion' implies transience, a striving to be in vogue, to have *le dernier cri*, concepts quite distinct from the work of Inuit seamstresses. More serious is the omission, perhaps because of its controversial nature, of mention of the effect of the anti-fur harvesting lobbies on Inuit communities. The European and American ban on importing seal fur is the latest of a series of blows to northern economies dictated by fashion, be it ideological or material: whaling ceased (not in itself a negative event) because baleen and whale oil were no longer required in Europe and North America; later, after a built-up demand, the market for Arctic fox dropped.

The book could have been rounded out by an indication of areas for further research, although I already hear the protests of the editor about casting too wide a net. Possibly the elders, along with Inuit and non-Inuit scholars, will find answers to some of the puzzles.

*Sanatujut* raises the question of the function of the *kinig* (p. 34, sometimes translated as front flap or apron) in Copper Inuit parkas. The traditional Copper Inuit *kinig* is a very small V-shaped or oblong extension, or an outline, at the centre of

the front edge (Fig. 18, p. 26 and Fig. 62, p. 65). However, the Copper Inuit clothing at the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, for example, and much shown in *Sanatujut* and elsewhere, does not have this extension. Diamond Jenness' patterns of men's and women's coats (1946:12, 13, 34) show a straight-cut edge, as do the full dress dancing costumes worn by Ikpakhuak and his wife Higilak (Jenness, 1946: frontispiece), who adopted Jenness. Can we discover the reason for the seamstress' decision to use one style or another? Was it a matter of decoration, group affiliation, a need for spiritual protection, a reference to the life-springs, or the sensibilities of the seamstress at a particular moment in her life?

The stripes on Copper Inuit women's trousers were found on women's trousers in Siberia, donned by some male shamans in their androgynous state. The motifs on Copper Inuit tools, clothing, and tattoos are known in the Thule era, and from Paleolithic and Historic times in Siberia. Some symbols in Caribou Inuit clothing and beadwork are found in some Siberian costume. Can we extend the frontiers of our studies of Inuit clothing by pursuing the search for the Northeast Asian connection already documented in other fields?

These comments aside, the book admirably fulfills its mandate to trace and describe the development of Copper and Caribou Inuit clothing. It draws together in a detailed, yet relatively compact form, the material about the attire and its place in an ancient, rich, complex culture that is alive and well in the Arctic. It goes further, by promoting the quiet revolution taking place between the Aboriginal peoples and museums, wherein we can tread the same path as partners, toward consensus rather than confrontation, concerning ethical policies to preserve and advance the Aboriginal cultural heritage.

## REFERENCES

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- A LONG WAY FROM HOME: THE TUBERCULOSIS EPIDEMIC AMONG THE INUIT. By PAT SANDIFORD GRYGIER. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. 233 p., 20 b&w illus., 3 maps, 4 appendices, notes, index. Hardbound. Cdn\$34.95.

Commencing in the late 1920s, many of Canada's Inuit lived through a devastating tuberculosis epidemic that was introduced by visitors or early settlers from the south. Not until